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## A NEW FRAGMENT OF APOLLODORUS OF CARYSTUS

By MINTON WARREN

While in Rome last spring I discovered five manuscripts containing the Commentary of Donatus to Terence, which have not been used by Wessner in his recent edition. One of these is in the Vatican library (Pal. Lat. 1629) and three in the Corsini library (43. E. 28, 43, G. 13 and 43, G. 23). The most important of them all is in the library of Prince Chigi and is numbered H. VII. 240. I designate it as K.<sup>1</sup> The order of the plays in the Commentary is *Andria*, *Adelphoe*, *Eunuchus*, *Hecyra*, and *Phormio*. This order was apparently followed in the principal codex of Donatus, the Parisinus 7920 (A) of the eleventh century, which unfortunately only contains the *Andria* and a small portion of the *Adelphoe*. This must also have been the order of the manuscript used by Priscian in his treatise *De metris Terentii* (cf. Keil III, p. 422), except, of course, that the *Heautontimorumenos* which follows the *Eunuchus* is not omitted. In many of its readings, both correct and incorrect, K coincides closely with A. In other respects, and where A is lacking, it agrees more nearly with V, especially in the preservation of Greek words and citations, which most of the manuscripts of Donatus omit.

Especially noteworthy in this respect is the comment on *Hecyra* 620, which Wessner prints as follows: *NOS IAM FABVLAE SVMVS ἀμαυρά*, but *ἀμαυρά* is the emendation of Schoell. B, the only manuscript which has kept any trace of the Greek, has *NANPA*. Here K has:

Nos iam f. s. ~~παρ~~ πὰν ἀρσομοδό<sup>ρο</sup>  
μύθος ἐσμεν δὴ πάμφιλε γρας γιρον.

The first word *παρ* has been crossed out. I give only the accents found in the text, but it is impossible to give the exact form of the letters. *γιρον* evidently stands for *γέρων*.

<sup>1</sup> A fuller treatment of K and of the other MSS will appear in Vol. XVII of *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*.

The manuscripts of Terence give *postremo nos iam fabulae sumus, Pamphile*, “*senex atque anus*;” but recent editors almost without exception read *fabula*, following Guyet, who supports the change with this comment:

Libri manuscripti et editiones omnes habent *fabulae* cum *ae* sed *fabula* in singulari omnino rescribendum videtur, id est, O *Pamphile*, *ego et Sostrata iam sumus fabula senex atque anus*, id est eo iam per senectutem devenimus ut simus fabula illa quae incipit, *Senex atque anus*. Nota sunt fabularum argumenta ex Aesopo et aliis, *γέρων καὶ γραῦς, ὅρνις καὶ ἀλώπηξ*. *τὸ fabula* singulare, in plurale *fabulae* mutatum est propter pluralia illa *nos* et *sumus*, et praeterea propter duo singularia illa *senex atque anus*, quibus itidem necessario pluralem numerum interpolatores adiungi oportere arbitrati sunt.

The reading *fabula* is absolutely necessary if we accept the verse division of the Bembinus, which makes it a trochaic octonarius:

É medio aequom excédere est; postrémo nos iam fábula sumus.

Compare Meissner *Die Cantica des Terenz*, p. 575. Moreover it receives strong confirmation from the original Greek, which seems to have been, changing *δὴ* to *ἥδη* and *γιρον* to *γέρων*,

οὐ μῦθος ἐσμεν Πάμφιλ' ἥδη γραῦς γέρων.<sup>1</sup>

To take up now the letters preceding οὐ μῦθος, I regard *αρσομόδορ* as the result of successive corruptions of Apollodorus written now with Greek, now with Latin letters. In the Commentary on *Phormio* 87 this is written in K *Appollodor'*. The abbreviation would account for the loss of *us* at the end. Compare ηθικ' for ηθικῶς in K *Hec.* 550, where B has ΗΘΙΚΝ, V ηθικῆ. The two

<sup>1</sup> Other possibilities are οὐ μῦθος ἐσμεν δὴ γέρων γραῦς Πάμφιλε, or making the verse trochaic as in Terence (*παντελῶς*) οὐ μῦθος ἐσμεν δὴ γέρων γραῦς Πάμφιλε, or (*παντελῶς*) οὐ μῦθος ἐσμεν Πάμφιλ' ἥδη γραῦς γέρων, where *παντελῶς* is simply inserted to fill out the metre.

For the asyndeton γραῦς γέρων I know of no exact parallel. One would certainly expect καὶ to correspond to *atque* in Terence. The order of Terence *senex atque anus*, as that of Apollodorus, is conditioned by the metre. I should hesitate to substitute a shorter name for Πάμφιλε to make room for καὶ, for Terence seems to have taken the name Pamphilus from Apollodorus as he did Syra. Compare Kock III, p. 283, frag. 8. In the verse as given above ἥδη = *iam*, but there is no equivalent for *postremo*. Possibly τὸ δὲ πέρας was used at the end of the previous line. It occurs at the end of a trimeter (Kock III, p. 292, l. 13) cited by Stobaeus from Apollodorus. Meineke, in his *Index comicae dictionis*, p. 829, translates τὸ πέρας by *postremo*, and Terence may have done the same.

*p*'s might account for two letters *ρσ*, of which the *ρ* would stand for *p*, as in the curious corruption *et pipides* for Εὐριπίδης in both K and V *Hec.* 214, and in *And.* 406, where for *αιρούντες* A has *Alpontes*, B *ΑΥpontes*, TC and also K . . . . *pontes*. *μ* is a corruption of *λλ*, and the corruption may have been a very old one, just as in *And.* 57 for *mira ἔλλεψις* (probably written as often *ἔλλιψις*) we have in K *mire musis*, in TC *mire missis*, and in A *mire misis*, so that the corruption goes back to an archetype earlier than the eleventh century.

The letters given by Wessner for B (= Cod. Vat. Regin. 1496 s. xv) NANPA seem at first sight to be very unlike the first five letters in K *παρπα(ν)*, but if we notice the following corruptions found in B: *And.* 447 ΤΟΝΝΠΕΝΟΝ for *τὸ πρέπον*, *And.* 350 ΕΝΙ for ΕΤΤΙ, *And.* 798 ΠΡΕΝΟΝ for *πρέπον*, *Eun.* Praefatio 1. 8 ΤΤΡΟΚΟΝΟΝ for *πρόσωπον*, *Eun.* 14 ΤΤΑΠΑΝΠΟΚΑΡΥΑΝ for *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, *Eun.* 405 ΤΤΟΚΙΟΝΗΣΙΣ for *ἀποσιώπησις*; and if we notice that in A also we have *And.* 423 ΑΝΕΤΥΧΕΝ, where B has correctly ΑΤΤΕΤΥΧΕΝ; in *And.* 696 ΝΑΠΑΔΟΖWC, where B correctly ΤΤΑΡΑ ———; in *And.* 950 *a*ΝΟΤΟΥ, where B correctly ΑΤΤΟΤΟΥ = *ἀπὸ τοῦ*, while C has *anotoi*, T *anota*, we must conclude that in the archetype of all these manuscripts the forms of ΤΤ and Ν were easily confused. Consequently, NANPA might easily be a corruption of *παρπα(ν)*. As *παρ* is crossed out in K, the archetype may have had *παρ*<sup>παν</sup>, which led first to the writing of *παρ*, and then of the supposed correction *παν*. For the origin of this *παρ* or *παν*, however, as Greek I have no plausible suggestion. *παρ'* Απολλοδόρω, which would be in place in a Greek scholion, does not agree with Donatus' usual method of citation. For the same reason *πᾶν* cannot be accepted as a translation of *totum* (*Apollodori*); cf. *Hec.* 286. Moreover Donatus always places the name of an author whom he quotes before the quotation, not after one or more words. The Greek letters must then stand for Latin letters, and their explanation is not far to seek. We have seen that the Greek verse is translated by *nos iam fabula sumus Pamphile senex atque anus*. According to Wessner, *FABVLAE SVMVS* is written out in full in his MSS, but in K it is represented by *f. s.* At some stage in the trans-

mission the words after *fabulae* must have been indicated by *s. p. s. a. an'* or by *s. p. s. a. an.*; for often the first two letters of a word were written. Compare Wessner II. 229. 2, *LI. CO*, which the MSS have changed to *loco*; Wessner II. 230. 2, *ab. s.* changed in MSS to *abis*; Wessner I. 142. 21, *du. i.*, in B for *dubium id*. Often, however, these initial letters, which had no meaning for the ignorant scribe, drop out, especially when the same letter is repeated, and thus *p. s. a. an* was reduced to *p. a. n.*, and then written *pan*, and finally *παν* before Apollodorus, written in Greek letters. This accounts for *παν* in K and for *ΝΑΝ* in B (*NANPA*). PA may be due to transposition of the first two letters of *αρσομοδορ*. As we find Wessner I. 239. 3, *parato ole in* in A (*parato olein K*), but *παρατο ολεμ* in B, this representation of Latin letters by Greek in a late MS need not surprise us. So in V for *An ἀφαίρεσις* Wessner I. 405. 1, we find *ἀνάφερεσις*, while in C we have *anae. p. c. e. i. c.*, as if these were so many initials. Of this latter phenomenon there are innumerable instances. Sometimes it is only partial. Thus for the same word *παράλειψις* we find in C, Wessner II. 264. 21, *n. a. pA. AH. VY. IC*, and 273. 22 in B, *na ρα HYIC*, in both cases *n* for *π* as in *NANPA*. Moreover, I believe the *σ* in *ἀρσομοδορ* is due to the fact that some scribe noticed that *s.* for *senex* after *P* for *Pamphile* had fallen out, and he inserted it carelessly after the wrong *P* (*ρ*).<sup>1</sup>

I believe I have thus satisfactorily accounted for the corruptions existing in the passage. In conclusion, I must thank Wessner for the painstaking accuracy with which he has recorded minutiae in his critical apparatus, without which my proof, if proof it be, would have been impossible.

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<sup>1</sup> In the *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* XXXIV, p. xliii, I have shown how by a similar error in Cicero *Brutus*, § 75, *bellum punicum* (i. e. correction to *poenicum*) was copied *bellum punicum*, then *punico eum*, and finally *bello punico eum*, the reading of our MSS.